5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

844 the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they failed, the medicine-men were called. The latter came into the lodge with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time, she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord, using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with her and never given to the child.

846 The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods. There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you, that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother. The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
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[751] attached to a bandoleer of beads or seeds. Instead of
756 the bandoleer a gaming ring containing charms was sometimes worn on the arm. Each medicine man had a bag, generally made from the skin of an animal tanned whole, in which he kept his roots, paints, white clay, and other objects used in working his cures. The latter varied with the individual, but usually consisted of deer tails, the leg bones and claws of eagles, human bones, dried fingers, and very often the maw stone of a buffalo. The last was greatly valued, as it was supposed to contain the life or soul of the buffalo. The medicine men's bags with their contents were usually handed down from father to son, or were given to a newly initiated medicine man by his instructor.

755 The methods used to work cures varied with the nature of the disease and the customs of the medicine man. Diseases of unknown origin and those ascribed to witchcraft could only be treated by some one who could work a counter spell. Such diseases were usually eradicated by sucking a feather, small stone, blood, or some other object from the patient, singing and the shaking of a rattle being part of the performance. The object sucked out was always thrown into the fire and consumed so that the seat or cause of the trouble could not enter again into the patient or into
756 any one else. All medicine men knew more or less of
[278] roots and herbs, which they administered as teas or in powdered form. The pay of the medicine man, which was given him when his services were no longer required, varied with the wealth of the patient. It sometimes consisted of buffalo robes and parfleches of dried meat, but was more often a sack of corn or a few strands of dried, braided pumpkins. He was paid even when he failed to work a cure.

756 The supernatural beings from whom the Pawnee
776 medicine men derived their powers were, for the most part, identified with animals. Not all animals were

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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brought. She yelled, "Take that away!" "He's all right," said Fox Chief, "You people are foolish." "But he'll bite someone if you set him free in the village," said his wife. "No, he knows we live here. He'll go straight off to that rocky place over there." Then he released the snake and the snake went directly away without disturbing anyone. And so I lost my chance to learn—by not believing.

This story, told in Oklahoma in 1936, sixty years later, was sincerely believed.

With this confident knowledge of the herbs and roots connected with it, the doctors did cure the sick, combining what must have been some empirical observation of physical efficacy with personal influence and suggestion. It was this latter aspect that was the subject of their ceremony at this time and an affirmation of their faith in their calling.

Last of all they had to get the cedar tree that would stand just outside the Bear Booth to the west of its entrance. The bear and the cedar were associated together, and both belonged to the northeast direction. Their celestial affiliation was with the sun and moon. All the trees that were used in setting up the Doctor Lodge were brought in with a great deal of ceremony. The six cottonwood trees that had been used to build the animal booths symbolized the beaver, and the waters and were consecrated accordingly. To get the cedar, twenty doctors set out before sunrise for the Loup River where the cedar tree had been located the day before. The leader of the party carried a bearhide rattle.

On the return journey, they stopped halfway and practiced hypnotism on one another. The doctors who had remained behind in the lodge would try to prevent the incoming party from entering the village. One of the doctors was stationed at the top of the lodge to sight them as they were returning. The incoming party stopped in the timber and painted themselves so that they could rehearse in order to "put on a good show for the people of the village." They were sighted approaching from the southwest by the doctors in the lodge who went south through the village to meet them as they were about to enter and managed hypnotically to drive them back. The leader of the incoming party was sounding his bearhide rattle and the people climbed onto the roofs of their lodges to watch. The approaching party dropped the cedar, and, in their hypnotized condition some began to impersonate wolves, some deer, all imitating the motions of the different animals. As they came, one of the deer tumbled over, and the wolves tumbled on their noses and lay there kicking. Then they got up looked around dazed as they recovered from their trance. People came and threw offerings of calico and black handkerchiefs on the cedar tree as it lay on the ground.

Inside the lodge, Big Doctor stood ready to receive the cedar tree which was ceremonially treated and set down east of the fireplace while

terms of interpersonal hostilities and the specific temper of the people involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal social consequences. The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation. The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help. saying, "I want you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was presumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a process.

> It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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The course of treatment for That-Chief's pellet which followed a general pattern was as follows: 755

When the doctor was called in he would say, "You seem to have some kind of cold, but something else may be in your stomach. The doctor makes medicine in a big bucket of water. He tells the patient to drink and see if it can come up. (The witch may be in there while they are doctoring this person. He just sits there with his hand before his face as if he were thinking, but he knows what it is.) The patient has to drink a whole lot before he can throw up. Then when he says he has enough, they tickle his throat with a feather, telling him to stand up. Maybe it doesn't come up yet and the doctor tells him, "Take all the medicine." Then at last the person doubles up and the fragments of the witch-pellet come up. The doctor says, "Look, here, this is it. A bad person gave you this." The doctor will recognize that someone sitting there is the culprit, but he remains loyal to his profession and refrains from exposing his "brother-member of the Doctor Lodge." The doctor says, "Throw it (the poison pellet) into the fire," but the witch suggests they throw it outside where he can retrieve it. Someone who knows better finally induces them to burn it up.

Another method of witchcraft poisoning is to mix some material with the pipe tobacco that is offered to a person to smoke. Big Doctor, in addition to owl claws, had mole and weasel powers which were very bad. He had a tiny pipe that he mixed with the excrement of the ground hog, and when a person smokes this he gets sore on his thighs, back or elsewhere. With his weasel powers, Big Doctor would make a weasel skin drink and when anyone passes that he wants to witch he flicks water on him. The weasel causes the person to have night sweats and get weak. 754

In support of his assertion, in 1936 when we visited the Chicago Museum of Natural History, Mark Evarts showed us that in the bundle of Big Doctor was a package with a very small pipe inside a weasel skin, also a moleskin and a meteor for the warpath.

There were a few attempts at explanation of disease among the Pawnee that were not supernatural. In the old days it was said that people died when they were old because of injuries they had received while they were still young. When they got old, these injuries revived and killed them. Such diseases would be internal injuries from falling off horses (hemorrhage), smallpox, measles, typhus, and dysentery. 753

An old man got dysentery. It began with a sort of grabbing pains in the legs, then went up and choked you. When his legs began to grab, he